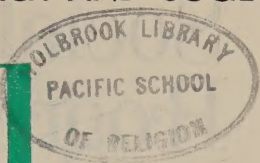


A JOURNAL OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY



Social Progress



not
ow/to Fight Communism

DECEMBER 1961

Social Progress

Published by the Office of Church and Society of the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors.

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION



WE ARE embarrassed by the title to this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. We wish it could be called something else a little more on the positive side (like, maybe, "Communism in Christian Perspective"). But the general climate in parts of our country and in portions of the church is such as to make such a title suspect, too passive, not forthright enough—and therefore inflammatory.

The causes of this climate are too complex to unravel here, but they certainly include the following: (a) a genuine awareness and anxiety about the very real threat that the cold war may become hot; (b) increased opposition to the social legislation begun under President Roosevelt (Theodore, as well as F.D.R.) and continued by presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy; (c) heightened activity by professional anti-Communist groups such as the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade; (d) the consistent verbal support given by the major Protestant denominations, and not infrequently, by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, to movements and issues in the area of social and economic justice; (e) the frank acknowledgment that Communist agents have in fact been at work within the United States, stealing some of its military secrets and attempting to use some of its free institutions to support the Communist party line; and (f) the sense that we are all living for the indefinite future in a situation of absolute peril, which leads to a neurotic mass impulse to find absolute solutions to this peril—solutions that are clear-cut, black and white, unambiguous.

A steady flow of mail to the Office of Church and Society testifies to the widespread existence of a climate within which a clergyman's or a church's integrity is measured by the vehemence of their verbally expressed opposition to Communism. For example: "This community is undergoing something of an anti-Communism hys-

teria, concomitant to which seems to be a certain amount of emotional effort to involve the churches in one way or another or to denounce them if they do not jump on the band wagon" (from New Mexico). "The Communists are more concerned about religion than anything else, and if our churches can't back the Un-American Activities Committee of our Government, what is going to become of our America?" (from Tennessee). "We are having quite a time out this way with the resurgence of McCarthyism, and no less than editors of some of our prominent newspapers are quite disturbed. . . . It is getting virulent" (from Minnesota).

If there were no real Communist menace to free societies, free institutions, free churches, and free men, Christians could afford to take lightly both Communism and unrealistic responses to it. Unfortunately, as the 173d General Assembly asserted, "The international Communist conspiracy is objectively real and vitally dangerous. . . ." Hence, even the most unrealistic responses that some groups make to its threat have at least this to commend them—they take Communism seriously and regard it as dangerous.

To be perfectly candid, American Protestantism during the last thirty years has not consistently given the impression that it was fully aware of Communism's almost complete disregard for human beings, its twisting of facts and manipulation of truth for propaganda purposes, its calculated use of mass terror to coerce, its building of instruments of annihilation for political as well as military purposes, its network of agents for espionage, sabotage, and subversion. While the witness of Protestantism in the cause of social justice has been both an evidence of denominational faithfulness to the gospel and an important domestic bulwark against internal Communist inroads (extreme right-wing anti-Communists to the contrary), the church has not always been as relevant as it might have been with respect to the demonic aspects of the Communist apparatus at home and overseas.

For reasons not immediately obvious to those who see a Communist behind every social pronouncement of the National Council of Churches, we have seemed to respond vigorously and negatively to the extreme right while leaving to a few discerning men like Niebuhr and Bennett the hard criticism of the extreme left.

Further, some of us seemed to have been not only deeply *concerned* about the issues of social justice (as we should have been) but exclusively *preoccupied* with them (as we should not have been). While it is true that the solution of America's race problems is a condition for effectiveness in meeting the Communist challenge in today's world, it is simply not true that racial justice in America will eliminate the Communist threat to the non-Communist world or by itself make America's foreign policy "work" better. The unpleasant situation we now have to face is that the "apostles of discord" have almost pre-empted the domestic field of "witness" in the face of both real and imagined Communist danger.

At the moment it is no service to the cause of Christ for the church to say, "We are in greater danger from the extreme right than from the left," because the climate is such as to make such a witness irrelevant. And as Dietrich Bonhoeffer pointed out under Hitler, an irrelevant witness can never be an effective witness. The signs seem to be indisputable that too many sincere, conservative laymen who wouldn't send a dime to the John Birch Society harbor a mild suspicion that the church and its agencies are not really free from Communist (or at least Socialist) influence.

In part, Communism as a historical movement gained momentum because of an irrelevant witness to Jesus Christ on the part of his people (there were many other causes too). Long ago the church recognized that simple verbal proclamation of the gospel, along with exhortations to "love thy neighbor," were inadequate responses to problems of racial segregation. The church therefore advocated and adopted explicit programs of action, for example, in areas of fair employment practices legislation. While acknowledging that the power of the Spirit can change the hearts of men, the church also acknowledged that the Spirit works through changed patterns of society to get at the hearts of men.

For the most part, the church has not been as sophisticated about Communism. For, while it can be said that if only the Christian faith were faithfully spoken and demonstrated this would be the most effective witness against Communism the church could make, it must also be recognized that concrete programs of education and action in the real world of church and society are needed.

From our point of view the Birchers, the crusaders, and the apostles of discord are ineffective battlers against Communists at best, and serve to distort reality for both their friends and critics at worst. But it ill behooves the church to respond merely by criticizing the distorters. The most relevant witness the church can make at the moment, it seems to us, is one based on a realistic understanding of Communism as a movement in the real world of history—an understanding that can be communicated and acted upon *now*, not later, after the smoke has cleared and reality seems less distorted.

Hence, this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS begins with the action taken by our General Assembly in May of 1961, continues with a word from J. Edgar Hoover on how *not* to fight Communism, and then proceeds to attempt an overview of "what we are up against" so far as the Communists are concerned. Literally hundreds of books, many of them excellent, have already been published on various dimensions of the problem that we are trying to discuss in less than fifty pages. Hence, a bibliography is included. If this issue does not lead to further and more detailed study in one or more of these definitive volumes, it will not have succeeded fully in its aim. But thus supplemented, we hope this issue may be widely used for study, discussion, and action in the church.

—The Staff

The Communist Conspiracy and American Freedom

THE task of devising effective and appropriate means by which our nation can fulfill its destiny as a free society in the face of the threat of international Communism is real and urgent. Recent and sometimes vitriolic public controversy about persons and programs attempting to face this task suggest that it is time for thoughtful Americans of all faiths to consider seriously their responsibilities in this situation which confronts us.

The international Communist conspiracy is objectively real and vitally dangerous to the Christian church, the United States, and the values of human dignity we accept.

Outside the United States the evidence of Communist imperialism is abundantly clear—in China, in North Korea, in Vietnam, in Tibet, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Hungary, in Cuba, to cite only a few nations that have come under its tyranny. In some countries the Communist take-over has been accomplished by indirect military coup, in others by direct military intervention, in still others by the gaining of control of the centers of power by Communist agents.

Within the United States the Communist threat is also very real, as manifest in the conviction by due process of law of Communist agents for espionage—the conveying of military secrets to the Soviet Union. We also have reason to believe that sabotage—the destruction of military and communications installations by Communist agents—is a potential threat.

These real dangers of espionage and sabotage in our country can best be dealt with by specialized agents trained in the methods of prevention, detection, and apprehension. A thorough public awareness and support of such defenses of our internal security is necessary. However, an obsessive public preoccupation with these dangers diverts our energies from other important tasks.

The very real external danger of the political, economic, and military machinations of international Communism—to us, to our allies, and to the uncommitted nations of the world—can best be confronted by a conscious Christian witness and by creative, co-ordinated programs of political action and economic co-operation from a position of strength.

The fear of subversion has led to much distrust. Public officials, clergymen, schoolteachers, and others whose loyalty to the United States is beyond question to those who know them, have been irresponsibly accused of being “card-carrying Communists” or “dupes.” Reputations have been damaged and, in some instances, careers ruined by undocumented charges and intentional innuendoes implying disloyalty to our country. Organizations engaged in controversial but legitimate efforts in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties have been labeled as “subversive” or worse by some of those who oppose them.

goals and their methods. Public policies in the areas of education, welfare, and economics have been opposed as "Communist-influenced," without intelligent consideration of their objective value in meeting concrete problems in those areas.

Fear continues to work as the enemy of intelligence, responsibility, and decision. There are some indications that an unreasoning fear of Communism has vitiated and paralyzed the ability of some Americans to think intelligently and responsibly about either the objective reality of the Communist threat to freedom or the unfinished business of a free society. Certainly the debate of Americans with Americans about alternative policies and programs has been unduly complicated and confused by the sowing of suspicion and distrust of the motives and loyalties of those supporting opposing positions.

Any distortion of truth in an effort to arouse the American public to any threat to American freedom is not an effective or a justifiable method in a free society. Loyal and responsible Americans should use honest criticism of such distortion wherever it occurs. It is imperative that Americans make the fine distinction between honest blunders of policy in the past, innocent associations with what turned out to be questionable organizations, and honest proposals for the future, on the one hand—and on the other hand, revealed or concealed loyalty to an alien nation or a hostile ideology. The former is part and parcel of the life of an open society and ought so to be accepted. The latter demands detection and ought to be rejected. Public suspicions, fear, and hysteria do not contribute to such a distinction.

The danger to the non-Communist world, including our own nation, is too great and real for us to waste our energies and dissipate our intelligence in costly wrangling born of mutual suspicion and distrust within our body politic. And the need to strengthen and enlarge the cause of freedom, justice, and order within our own borders and around the world is too urgent to vitiate the necessary debate over real alternative programs by undocumented charges and ideological slogans.

The 173d General Assembly

Calls upon all Americans to inform themselves thoroughly and responsibly as to the very real dangers inherent in the international Communist conspiracy, and in doing so to use only resources that do not mishandle the truth or exploit such devices as "guilt by association"; which means that lists of alleged subversive organizations produced by agencies other than the office of the Attorney General of the United States should not be used;

Expresses its confidence in the present stability of the American people, their institutions, and their Government, and their ability to resist both real and imagined threats to subvert them;

Commends the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its effective work in exposing and bringing to justice known Communist agents engaged in espionage or sabotage;

Calls upon public officials and political leaders to debate and enact programs on the basis of their ability to meet concrete current or future needs, without resorting to emotional or ideological slogans that obscure real issues;

Urges all Americans to challenge undocumented assertions of Communist or Fascist affiliation or sympathy leveled at their leaders in Government, schools, unions, churches, and other organizations, and to avoid spreading rumors or suspicion about their fellow Americans without evidence that could stand in a court of law; and

Refers our churches to the Board of Christian Education for resources and study materials in this area.

United We Stand or Else...

By J. Edgar Hoover, Director of FBI

AMERICA, historically an impregnable fortress against tyranny, is engaged in a mortal struggle with world Communism. It is time for both citizens and Governmental authorities to confront this threat in a calm, realistic, rational, law-abiding manner.

The ingredients for Communist coups in nations which have fallen under its spell always include a populace shaken with fear, hysteria, and confusion. Above all, however, is the danger of irresponsible counteraction by citizens who lend impetus to Communism through inept attempts to fight this insidious menace.

The leaders of world-wide Communism proclaim that even America can succumb to the "rules of revolution" conceived by Karl Marx and galvanized into the first successful Communist revolution by Nikolai Lenin.

Lenin said, "The more powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively, and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies. . . ."

There exists today in our land a vital "rift," which the Communists are exploiting. Unfortunately, this involves certain people across the country who engage in reckless charges against one another. The label of "Communist" is too often indiscriminately attached to those

whose views differ from the majority. Those whose lives are not led according to what one segment of society might decree to be the "norm," are too frequently challenged as "Reds."

Attributing every adversity to Communism is not only irrational, but contributes to hysteria and fosters groundless fears. Communism is, indeed, our paramount adversary, and it leans on its credo of invincibility and a concept of historical inevitability to accomplish its ends. The way to fight it is to study it, understand it, and discover what can be done about it. This cannot be achieved by dawdling at the spring of knowledge; it can only be accomplished by dipping deeply into thoughtful, reliable, and authoritative sources of information.

The job of curtailing and containing Communism is one for legally constituted authorities with the steadfast co-operation of every loyal citizen. This is neither the time for inaction nor vigilante action. We must unite as a people, we must understand our basic American heritage under law, and we must face the Communist menace with deliberation, quiet courage, and knowledge. These are the qualities which Communism shrinks from—these are the qualities against which Communism can never succeed.—*Reprinted from Glenside (Pa.) News, April 13, 1961. Used by permission.*

ORIGINS OF COMMUNISM

ALTHOUGH the parallel may seem odious, it could be said that the *Communist Manifesto* is to contemporary Communism what Paul's letter to the Romans is to contemporary Christianity. Both are referred to by their respective adherents as the classic doctrinal statement of the "faithful."

The Founder

The *Manifesto* was in part a vigorous reaction against social evils and injustices. It is no accident of history that it was issued in 1848 in Western Europe, whose culture was at least partially rooted in Judaeo-Christian soil. As a protest against economic inequality and exploitation, the *Manifesto* could hardly have originated in the Orient (except perhaps in the twentieth century after Christian missionaries and Western culture had penetrated the Orient), where social injustice was at least as widespread and deep as in mid-nineteenth-century Western Europe. In a society under the influence of Judaic and Christian judgments, sensitized by eighteenth-century humanism, and moving into the industrial revolution, such a protest was inevitable. Even if the *Manifesto* had been written in the Orient, it would have attracted little attention.

The Later Prophets

But the classic précis of Communist theory was more than a social protest. It was a declaration of aims and the basis of an organization called the Communist League, founded by Marx and Engels. Marx died in 1898, while Engels became

more interested in theory and less in action. It was Lenin who made an effective program and apparatus out of Marxist theory and, more than any other one man, organized and seized control of the Russian Revolution of 1917. He continued to be both actionist and theoretician—pouring forth a flood of speeches, articles, books, and pamphlets that transformed Marxism from idea to tactics—until his death in 1924. Lenin's articulation of Marxist doctrine, coupled with his successful leadership, added his name to the body of Communist doctrine. It came to be known as Marxism-Leninism.

Stalin assumed leadership of the Party after the death of Lenin, consolidated his power in 1928, and reigned unchallenged till his own death in 1953. Because he added somewhat to the body of dogma, Communism came to be called Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. But after Khrushchev's six-hour speech to the Twentieth Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1956 (never published in the Soviet Union), in which he documented torture, slave labor, and mass terror as instruments of Stalin's power, the name of Communist doctrine became once again Marxism-Leninism. Today "Stalinism" is synonymous with "calculated terror."

The Cardinal Dogmas

"The theory of Marxism comprises four principal doctrines: the theories of 'historical materialism,' 'dialectical materialism,' 'surplus value,' and the 'class struggle.'

"The materialist conception of his-

tory, generally called 'historical materialism,' holds that the nature of the political institutions and intellectual life of society are determined by the economic forces which are their foundation. And the history of civilization, in the Marxist view is, primarily, a series of social systems—Asiatic society, chattel slavery, feudalism, capitalism—each based on a particular method of exploitation of labor and each divided into exploiting and exploited, ruling and opposed, classes.

"Dialectical materialism is the Communists' term for their theory of social change. It comes from a concept adapted from a German philosopher, Hegel.

"According to dialectical materialism, every force in the life of a society brings into existence an opposing force. From the inevitable clash between the two, results a third force combining elements of both original forces. In this way, Marx believed that capitalism produces within itself the seeds of its own destruction—revolt among its workers—and that out of this conflict would come eventually a new force, the communist society.

"According to the theory of surplus value, (1) labor is the sole creator of value; (2) the wages labor receives represent less than the total value it creates; and (3) the value created by labor in excess of its wages (i.e., the surplus value) is appropriated by the capitalist who thereby exploits labor. This, according to Marxism, accounts for the major inequalities and evils of capitalist society.

"The theory of the class struggle holds that 'the history of all human

society, that is, all written history, past and present, has been the history of class struggles' (*Communist Manifesto*).

"The class struggle is a 'perpetual warfare' which is 'sometimes masked' and 'sometimes open and acknowledged,' between 'oppressor and oppressed,' exploiting and exploited classes.

"In the past, the class struggle 'invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes.'

"Marx held that this is bound to happen to capitalist society as well.

"In his view, the class struggle in a capitalist society would culminate in a proletarian revolution. The revolution would be, ultimately, worldwide in scope and would be violent in nature.

"'The Communists,' says the *Manifesto*, 'disdain to conceal their views and aims.' They 'openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions.'

Marx's View of the Capitalist State

"In Marxist theory, the capitalist state is the organized power of the exploiting class. Its functions are (1) the perpetuation of the economic system on which it is founded, and (2) the suppression of the exploited class. Regardless of its form, Marxism holds, whether monarchy, republic, or corporate state, the capitalist state is a dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class.

"Such being the case, the working class, said Marx, cannot use 'the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own

ends.' The working class must seize power through revolution, smash the capitalist state, and crush the resistance of the capitalists. Then, 'organized as the ruling class,' it can proceed to the eventual building of a communist society.

"In 1872 Marx modified his original position by admitting that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism might take place in England, the United States, and perhaps Holland.

Marx's View of Communist Society

"Marx believed that in a communist society the means of production and exchange would be socially owned, and the exploitation of man by man would be eliminated. Hence, the state and all forms of political coercion would be unnecessary and nonexistent. The character of man would be transformed through the elimination of self-interest as the primary motive of social conduct and through the free development of individual human personality based on the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' Thereby would be opened a new and fruitful epoch in the progress of humanity. The earlier or 'lower' phase of the future society, in which economic inequality and the state would still exist, Marx called 'socialism.'

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

"'Between the capitalist and communist systems of society,' Marx wrote in 1875, 'lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period whose state can be nothing else but the rev-

olutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.'

"By 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' he meant a dictatorship of the working class over the defeated capitalists, landlords, and other 'exploiters.' Like other seers he was vague about when his prophecy would be fulfilled. He did not predict how long the transformation from capitalism to communism would take, nor how long the dictatorship of the proletariat would last. But he thought that as socialism was realized the state would 'wither away.'

A Different Viewpoint

"Not all socialists accept Marx's views. Beginning in the 1890's, another current of ideas became predominant in the thinking of socialists. The central doctrine of this current, known as 'revisionism' because of the revision of Marx's ideas on which it was based, held that the working class could achieve its rightful place by peaceful means—through elections—and construct socialism gradually and democratically. These ideas became the cornerstone of democratic socialism as distinguished from communism.

"The best-known non-Marxist application of these ideas took place in England after the victory of the Labor Party in the general election of 1945. There, as in several other Western European countries [including Adenauer's West Germany], democratic socialism has come to be regarded as a constructive force for individual freedom and against all forms of totalitarianism."—*Quotations from The Profile of Communism, Freedom Books, 1961. Anti-Defamation League. Used by permission.*

The Revolution— NON-COMMUNIST

RICHARD SHAULL and others have asserted that the fundamental historical force that must be faced realistically in the twentieth century is not (only) Communism, but Revolution—a revolution that was neither started by the Communist program nor inspired by Communist doctrine. We face “the first truly world-wide revolution in history, the first time that everywhere all institutions of the past seem inadequate and all things appear simultaneously and unprecedently out of joint. Communism has not caused this revolution, but has arisen as one of the most serious efforts to understand it and as the most powerful world force that has set out deliberately to direct it.” (M. Richard Shaull, *Encounter with Revolution*, p. 3.)

Ingredients of Revolution

One major aspect of contemporary world history is *poverty*—not merely in the sense that many people lack adequate food, clothing, and shelter, but in the sense that nearly three fourths of the world's population live in grinding, disease-ridden, death-dealing, despair-producing

want. “In Persia,” wrote David L. Cohn, “I talked with a peasant who had seen a can of our dog food. He said that if he could get such a can once a week for his family, he would be happy. He might be willing to die to realize his ambition to lead the life of an American dog.” (*Ibid.*, p. 4.)

But it is not poverty alone that produces revolution, nor is it simply the fact that many of the world's poor *believe* (correctly or incorrectly is beside the point) their poverty is caused by the exploitation of the rich moneylender, absentee landlord, or “capitalist.” After all, destitution and injustice have been widespread since the dawn of history. The revolutionary aspect of poverty is that “for the first time in history they [the underprivileged] are coming to know that they do not have to live that way. They are convinced that their suffering has not been decreed by God or by Fate. . . . This dawning understanding of their situation by the underprivileged masses is one of the most significant factors in the proper understanding of the crisis of our time.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 5 f.)

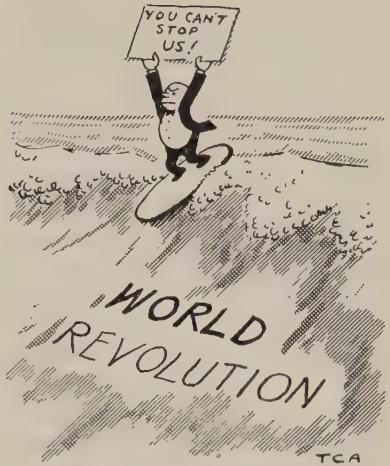
Perhaps an even more important

revolutionary aspect of our time is a growing cynicism among the dispossessed (and a significant number of the well-fed intellectuals) toward all religions. But coupled with this cynicism toward religion is an increasingly acute, though unformulated and misunderstood, reassertion of the basic anxiety of man as he faces his ultimate destiny. He cannot phrase this anxiety in theological terms like "the confrontation of sin and death," nor can he even recognize Augustine's famous analysis of the human condition: "Man is restless until he finds his rest in Thee." But the searing revolution in the soul, as it has been called, is intensified today by the shaking of all the institutional religious foundations. It assumes the strange paradox of "a gnawing spiritual hunger and a negative attitude toward all religion" (*ibid.*, p. 15).

Communism and Revolution

Fujiko Thomas, the late wife of Winburn Thomas of our own Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, made an analogy of the current relationship between the West, the revolution, and Communism (in *The Intercollegian*, November, 1959). As a child, she said, she was always terrified when the fire engine clanged and screamed past her house. She knew that fire engines had something to do with fires, but she got her chronology turned around. In her childish mind, the fire engine *caused* the fire (what could be more logical?).

Today, Mrs. Thomas suggested, the world-wide revolution is the fire, and the Communists are the fire engine. But instead of pouring water



on the flames they pour on gasoline. In America we tend to react exclusively to the Communists—the inflamers of revolution—and to ignore the fire, which was burning before the Communists ever arrived on the scene. The fact is that if every Communist should next week become a Republican or a Democrat the fires of revolution would continue to burn and the free world would still be faced with overwhelmingly serious problems and responsibilities.

But it should be quite clear also that if the revolution should be ended next year in widespread achievement of stable and productive societies all over the world, Communism would still confront the free world with equally serious, though quite different, problems and responsibilities. Actually, we are not likely to confront either the end of the revolution or the death of Communism in the immediate future.

Just as the impact of Western culture on the non-Western world *began* the world-wide social and economic revolution, so the impact of the

Christian faith helped intensify the "schism in the soul" (Toynbee) or the spiritual revolution. In a sense, to change Mrs. Thomas' analogy, Communism is attempting to reap the harvest that was sown by Western culture and the Christian faith. It is appealing to the world as *the one force willing and able to take over the revolution, which it falsely claims to have started*. Later we will see how Communism has *betrayed the revolution* that it has sought to take over, but first it is necessary to grasp something of how an initially idealistic and utopian program became demonic.

Some Christians are astonished to read the autobiographical accounts of persons who were converted (the word is well taken) to Communism and later renounced it. Frequently these accounts sound like sophisticated tent-meeting testimonials. For example, Arthur Koestler said: "Something had clicked in my brain which shook me like a mental explosion. To say that one had 'seen the light' is a poor description of the mental rapture which only the convert knows. The new light seems to pour from all directions across the skull; the whole universe falls into pattern like the stray pieces of a jigsaw puzzle assembled by magic at one stroke. There is now an answer to every question." (Crossman, ed., *The God That Failed*, pp. 21 f., in Shaull, *op. cit.*, p. 29.)

Wherever a void in the soul is left—and the failure of Christians and the church to *demonstrate* the gospel as well as *preach* it helps leave that void—some new "religious" movements are very likely to arise to fill that void, and they almost inevitably

become demonic. Nazism was one, Communism is the most powerful one today. It has helped produce a new attitude toward God, toward man, toward "what is possible," and toward the state. This new attitude and the personality that embodies it are quite capable of destroying man and the world in an effort to "save" them.

The Rise of the Man-God

"It was Dostoevski who first realized this awful fact. If anyone deserves to be taken seriously in this regard, it is he. No one else living in the nineteenth century prophesied, with such startling accuracy, the shape of things to come. As Dostoevski lived among the Russian revolutionaries, and for a time was himself one of their number, he came to realize that the fundamental issue in the revolutionary situation was rebellion against God. He saw that this denial of God and the devil, order and law in the universe, would inevitably lead to the destruction of man. It would create a type of person who would live on the surface of the earth, isolated from all objectivity, denying all transcendence and asserting his freedom. He felt that this man, bound by nothing, for whom everything would be permitted, would possess unlimited desires and ambitions unknown outside Christendom, and would be content only with self-deification. Then the man-God would replace the God-man; and this Superman would propose to straighten things out, imposing order and harmony on the universe.

"At this point Dostoevski saw clearly the inevitable consequences and presented them powerfully in the

Grand Inquisitor, Ivan Karamazov, and Schigaleff. In his opinion, the efforts of men to put the world in order would not result in utopia but rather in despotism. Not the perfect society but the social anthill would be the final product. Humanity which set out asserting its freedom would end up enslaved. Thus Schigaleff, in *The Possessed*, prophesies: 'When I make my deductions about unlimited freedom, I arrive at unlimited despotism.'

"According to Dostoevski, the process would go even further. Denial of God would lead to denial of the world and of man himself, in fact to the destruction of man. In the name of the man-God and the future happiness of mankind, individual men and women would become the tools for the realization of the Great Goal. With the deification of man would come the deification of the state. To the latter, as to the former, everything would be permitted. And in the end man would be destroyed.

"It is frightening to see how the prophecies of Dostoevski have been

fulfilled in Russian Communism. But it is very easy for us to see these dangers there without realizing that they constitute a serious menace for our society as well. This revolt in the soul has occurred all over the world. In all parts it has produced the same mentality and the same type of personality. The man-God, to whom all is permitted, and the deified state, which sets out to put things in order, and in so doing destroys freedom and makes man a tool of its ends—these two facts are with us all and are imminent dangers in all our political systems, even in those which combat Communism most furiously. It is this, and not simply the threat of Communism, which places upon Christians the urgent responsibility of understanding the revolution of our time, of seeing the possible answers to it and discovering the path of obedience to God who rules over the chaos which surrounds us." (Shaull, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.)—*Quotations from Encounter with Revolution, by M. Richard Shaull. Association Press, 1955. Used by permission.*

BETRAYAL—

Communist Theory vs. Practice

MEN have become Communists for both idealistic and cynical reasons. It is a moot question as to who is the more dangerous foe, the fanatical idealist or the calculating and knowledgeable cynic. But there is a third category of people who contribute to the strength of the Communist Party in countries where that Party is a numerically significant factor in the political situation, as in France and Italy. These are the people who affiliate loosely with the Party and look to it as the defender of their immediate interests.

"Justification by Faith"

When Khrushchev made his spectacular "revelations" about Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, many American and British Communists were shattered to the core of their being. For years they had defended the Soviet Union against what they regarded as false slanders from its bourgeois critics. They had followed, sometimes with unimaginable rationalizations, every twist and turn of the party line, and had felt like the only guardians of the true faith. Then, from the only

authoritative spokesman of the Truth, had come the confirmation of what their enemies had been asserting for years. "It was as if St. Paul, suddenly and without warning, had bitterly charged Christ with depravity and deceit. The very guardians of the faith, the living depositories of historical truth, now revealed that almost everything in which the comrades had believed was a sham. What else could an American [or a British] Communist feel but deprived and rejected?" (Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party*, p. 491.)

But the Italian and French Communists, except for a small number of Party leaders, were totally unconcerned with ideology. They were too preoccupied with the bread-and-butter issues of the immediate moment. Doctrine was of secondary or no concern to them, but the preservation of the Party's organizational effectiveness was of primary concern. Being justified by "works" rather than by "faith," they lost themselves in busyness and went through the de-Stalinization era relatively unscathed as politically active

mass organizations. But the American Communist Party, not having had since the thirties any really relevant role in the labor movement, or the political scene, or the social life of the United States, was "thrown back upon its own resources. . . . Since there was little occasion to engage in 'works,' all that remained was a justification by 'faith.' And now, that faith had been shattered at its very source." (*Ibid.*, p. 491.)

Why People Join

It is virtually certain that outside Russia and Red China a substantial portion of the Communist Party's political strength (where such strength exists, as it does *not* in the U.S.) comes from such a mass affiliation without deep ideological commitment. However, the trained core of Communist leaders remain (as long as they remain) ideologically as well as pragmatically committed. It is vital for Christians and non-Communists to try to understand the nature of this deep commitment as well as the more or less casual commitment of the mass organization. Why do people become Communists, and equally important, why do so many of them defect?

As Arthur Koestler's "testimony" indicated, part of the appeal of Communism is that it seems to offer an understanding of what is happening in the world, an explanation of *why* everything is out of joint, a rationale for the revolution. But just as important, it seems to offer a program, something to do. "When a person . . . feels [the impact of the revolutionary situation] and understands what is happening, he knows he must do something about it. But why does

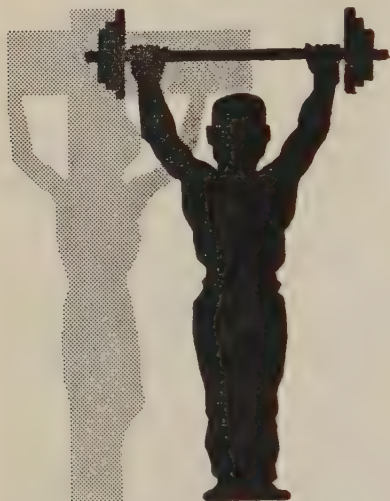
he become a Communist? Why does he not join some other revolutionary movement? The answer is that all too often Communism is the only political movement that offers him the three things he demands: (1) an explanation of what is happening and a solution; (2) a movement strong enough to achieve power and establish its solution; and (3) a total philosophy that gives a scientific and certain foundation for its program. . . . Here is a religion of salvation and a sociological theory for the transformation of society, united into one; a way of understanding the world and a means of changing it." (M. Richard Shaull, *Encounter with Revolution*, pp. 18 f.)

But "more important than a program of change is a movement with power. To those who see this issue clearly, Communism speaks with authority.

"1. It shows that it understands the problem. It insists that those who have economic power now control the state and will not allow change. Therefore, nothing short of revolution will have any permanent effect. Any attempt to change society will mean an intense and bitter struggle in which violence will probably be necessary. The more those in power block the path of social reform, the more will this Communist argument appeal. And its power will be heightened when those who would like to see a better society are unaware of the question of power. On several occasions I have met with groups of very capable Christian young people who had the idea that if only they wrote enough articles about justice and social change, and preached their ideals long and loud enough, all

would go well. We should not be surprised that people who know what is happening prefer Communism to such unrealistic talk; for Communism understands the problem of power and takes it very seriously.

"2. The Communists are hard at work doing what they think must be done to get the power they will need to change things. In a revolutionary



situation, they go about this in different ways, but always effectively. They are constantly infiltrating into the power structure of bourgeois society. They are in the Army, striving after key positions there. They are in the labor movement and often control it, acting with a keen awareness of the problem of power. Key unions, key positions, key factories in the struggle for power are the objective of their activity. In political movements all along the line from the extreme right to left they are at work. Most important of all, they realize that the masses, especially the industrial workers and, in some instances, the peasants, provide the new source

for political power. While liberal parties appeal to elements of the middle class, and the socialists often seem content to sit around their desks discussing their ideas, the Communists are hard at work molding the worker and peasant into a mighty political force.

"3. The Communist awareness of the problem of power is manifest in the organization of the Party itself. Here is a movement so organized and led that it impresses everyone with its power. This is the heritage which Lenin left to Communism. He saw what was necessary to convert Marxism into a powerful revolutionary movement, and to that end dedicated his life.

"From the time of Marx onward, Communist doctrine was subjected to constant revisions in accordance with the changing historical situation. In line with developments in Western Europe, it tended to abandon the idea of violent revolution in favor of gradual evolution. Various schools developed. Marxist parties sprang up in each country, with no definite organization and no clearly defined program common to all. Lenin became convinced that this could only lead to chaos. If Communism was to lead the revolution, it would have to depend upon a strong party with certain very definite characteristics, which Lenin established. . . .

"I have led discussions with students in several Latin American countries in which I suggested the urgency of their supporting political movements that might take the place of Communism as the bearer of the revolution. On each occasion some member of the group has replied:

'There are no alternatives. Either things go on as they are now, or Communism takes over. It is hard at work in every institution which is important in the struggle for power. Sooner or later it will win out anyway.' The number of students who share this view may not be large, but they often are the ones who are most aware of what is going on." (*Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.)

To this naïve and facile assumption that Communism is the only alternative the Christian and the anti-Communist must give an answer that both makes sense and also provides a program. That answer must be more meaningful than a threat of military force, more substantial than a promise of economic assistance, more relevant than a reliance on the final triumph of good will. That answer will be negative and positive.

While the positive aspects will be dealt with on pages 44-46, the first word that must be spoken is negative, the documented proof that the Communists have betrayed the revolution. While claiming to co-operate with and complete the revolutionary drive for bread, dignity, justice, and freedom, the Communists have actually capitalized and exploited that drive for their own purposes. Hundreds of Communist leaders and thousands of Communist followers have defected because they discovered to their disillusionment, *not* that Communism is atheistic (many other movements are atheistic and this is no problem to them), *not* that Communism threatens the present structures of society (they believed these were unjust anyhow), and *not* that Communism does not allow freedom (many never thought they

had much freedom to start with). Communists defect primarily because they become convinced that Communism in trying to *use* the revolution not only *betrays* the revolution, but leads it into tyranny and terror.

- Communism has betrayed the revolution *within* the Soviet Union, where the revolution allegedly continues uninterrupted to its completion.

Item: Nine million Soviet citizens—between 5 and 6 per cent of the entire population—were arrested, deported, or killed during the great political purge of 1936-1939. (Peter Viereck, *Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals*, p. 163.)

Item: Prior to the Trotskyite purge Stalin forced the collectivization of agriculture, during which transition between five and ten million peasants and kulaks were deliberately starved to death. (*Ibid.*)

Item: About seven million Russians perished in the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union during World War II. But the peacetime mass murders of the Stalin period exceeded by far those killed by the Germans in war. When "the Katyn massacre of Polish officers, the genocide against the three Baltic states, the postwar liquidation of the Crimean camps of the Jewish population and of Russian border areas" are added to the total, the magnitude of the Soviet terror defies imagination (*ibid.*).

- Communism has betrayed the revolution *outside* the Soviet Union in pretending to *assist* the revolution. Although much is made in Communist circles about the inevitability of the revolution's overthrow of "capi-

talist" regimes, Soviet and Chinese Communism has never been content simply to permit the forces of history to work, or even to confine its assistance to these forces of history to economic activity. *The Red Army, Russian and Chinese, has intervened in bloody conquest repeatedly in Europe and Asia.*

Items: Czechoslovakia, East Germany (with tanks), Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary (with tanks), North Korea (with "volunteers"), North Vietnam (with "native" guerrillas), Poland (with tanks), Tibet (with machine guns and terror). Add also Albania, Bulgaria, Outer Mongolia, Romania, and Yugoslavia (in the "outer orbit" of the Moscow-Peiping axis).

Item: Salvador de Madariaga, the Spanish anti-Franco political philosopher, replying to Aneurin Bevan's claim that the dangers from Communism come only from the failure to redress wrongs that exist in Western society: "Really, Mr. Bevan, do you believe that the only answer to Soviet Communism is an alteration of social practices and principles? Do you believe that there is one single country in Europe which went over to Communism because its social practices and principles were not good enough? Do you believe that had it not been for the ruthless intervention of the Red Army—actual or potential—a single European nation would have adopted a system that abolishes trade union freedom, the right to strike, freedom of press, party, religion, and association and which keeps its Opposition in concentration camps little better than anterooms for cemeteries?" (*Ibid.*, p. 205.)

Communism's Fatal Flaw

Why has Communism failed not only to *achieve* the perfect society it claims to pursue, but even worse, gives every evidence of proceeding in the opposite direction? Many critics of Marxism have given a similar answer: the fatal fault lies in *the erroneous assumption that social evil originates in the economic system rather than in man himself.* Hence, the corrective program, assumed the Marxist, must be directed exclusively to bringing about changes in the system.

"Power Tends to Corrupt, and . . ."

Christians know, or ought to know, along with Lord Acton, that while injustice *manifests* itself in any given system and while systems can be improved, so long as men with power function within the system it will tend toward corruption. Some liberals, including some liberal Christians, have had a tendency naïvely to assume that human nature is perfectible (when they haven't done worse and assumed that a particular educational or economic program would "release" human nature to achieve its "natural" perfection).

A peculiar theological pessimism about the nature of man came together with an equally pessimistic secular understanding of human nature in the Founding Fathers of our own nation to produce a constitutional system of "checks and balances" in the powers of government. The compounded wisdom of the Hamiltons, the Franklins, and the Jeffersons built into the foundations of the United States the power of self-correction that prevents irresponsible power in the hands of men

from indefinitely entrenching itself.

What the Communists have failed to see (or refused to take seriously) is the fact that *any* new system, no matter what its goals or its intentions, offers new opportunities for corruption and exploitation. "Anyone who strives for a new social order must ask not only which system will offer greatest possibilities of justice, but also, how the inevitable corruption of that system by evil men can be checked. Communism ignores this problem. *Instead of preparing its leaders to meet the new possibilities of corruption, it arms them with a philosophy which claims to be infallible, assures them that no evil can manifest itself in the new society, and concentrates unchecked power in their hands.*" (Shaull, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 f.; italics added.) Any system that achieves power for the sake of improving the social, political, or economic organization of a society carries within it the seeds of the demonic *unless* it also is open to correction and criticism. If both *power* and *infallibility* are concentrated in the same source, it should come as no surprise that eventually such a system becomes reactionary and destructive rather than utopian and creative.

Internal Contradictions

Hence, as might be predicted, Communist practice contradicts Communist theory in at least three areas besides its terror, its tyranny, its torture, and its slaughter:

1. Theoretically under Communism when the "state" owns all the means of production and the "people" (i.e., the proletariat) exercise

its "dictatorship," exploitation comes to an end, because the people cannot exploit themselves.

Practically, however, a new class system has come into existence. Since the collectives could not provide enough incentive in terms of "profits" for the workers, different kinds of incentives had to be devised. Vast differentials in wages, prestige, and status now exist between various levels of "workers." A new "elite" of managers and technicians has arisen. Piecework, which labor unions successfully fought against in the "capitalistic" West over two decades ago, is part and parcel of the Communist utopia. The very rich and the very poor are still with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

2. Theoretically, centralized planning can and should reduce wastage and bring about the harmonious functioning of the whole economy. Compared with nontotalitarian societies (such as the United States, where a measure of centralized planning doesn't have the "benefit" of total coercion), a Communist economy ought to be approaching the upper reaches of efficiency in both agriculture and industry.

Practically, however, centralized planning has produced not only great wastage and inefficiency, but real trouble for the planners. While the industrial production of the Soviet Union has greatly increased and Russia has been changed in forty years from what was an underdeveloped, agricultural economy to an industrial-agricultural economy, two serious faults exist in the change-over. In the first place, agricultural

production has consistently lagged behind the goals set by the various "Five Year Plans," which means that food, fiber, and shelter are still scarce. "Russia has never fully recovered from the setback in 1928, when the kulaks slaughtered their livestock because they were being forced to give up their land and join collective farms." (Kenneth Colegrove, *Democracy Versus Communism*, p. 288.) In the second place, the vast preponderance of Russia's truly spectacular industrial growth has gone into armaments and capital goods. Further, while "centralized planning"—especially when it is enforced by a secret police force of 500,000 (*ibid.*, p. 291)—has increased the volume of production to such a degree as to make Russia the wonder of the developing African, Asian, and Latin American nations, the standard of living is surprisingly low. The *real value* of goods and services is, per capita, less than one fifth of that of the average American citizen (*ibid.*, p. 289).

3. While the patriotism of the Russian people and their willingness to fight for their "motherland" is not widely doubted (Some evidence to the contrary exists. Viereck and others claim that when the Nazi armies invaded Russia in 1941 they were at first hailed as "liberators." Only after it became obvious that the Nazis were in fact bent on enslaving

the Russians did the peasants burn their crops, fight and retreat in order to keep from falling into the hands of the Germans), in practice it must be recognized that the people of the Soviet Union have no standards by which they can compare their situation with that of other nations. The government controls completely all press, radio, and other channels of communication. The image of the "outside" world that exists in the mind of the Soviet citizen is almost completely controlled by what the government permits him to see and hear. For example, as this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS goes to press, information about the series of nuclear blasts set off by the Soviet Union in the Arctic has not yet been published within the Soviet Union. The Russian people, not knowing about the tests themselves, also do not know, presumably, about the world-wide torrent of criticism from the neutrals as well as from the Western powers evoked by the fear of fallout.

Among the thoughtful of those who have defected from Communism and from Communist regimes, the light came when it became quite clear that the cause to which they had so passionately given themselves has actually betrayed the revolution which it claims to have taken over.—*Major quotations used by permission of the publishers.*

Communism, U.S.A.—

With and Without Benefit of Clergy

IT IS impossible within the scope of a few pages to do justice to the history of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the relationship of clergymen or the churches to that history. Perhaps the most thorough and responsible volume dealing with the CPUSA is that of Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History (1919-1957)*. It contains nearly six hundred pages and hardly mentions either the churches or the clergy.

On the other hand, Ralph Lord Roy's *Communism and the Churches*, which contains nearly five hundred pages, goes into great detail concerning the involvement of a few clergymen with the twists and turns of the party line from the 1920's to 1959. What can be attempted in the next few pages is only a sketch of the major developments of the last forty years within the borders of the United States.

Between the Extremes

Two lines of demarcation limit the scope of this brief account. Between these two lines lies the course of re-

sponsible concern with the truth, in our opinion. Gathered along the line at the left are those, some of whom are proud to be called "liberals," who are convinced there is no substance whatsoever to the charge that a "Communist conspiracy" exists, that the whole idea is at best a sincere but mistaken illusion of the far right and at worst simply a calculated and cynical fabrication used to strengthen the forces of "reaction."

Gathered along the line to the right are those for whom no array of facts can weaken their conviction that Communists secretly control the policies of the churches—and the National Council of Churches—and that every United States Federal policy decision since the diplomatic recognition of Russia in 1933 was the result of Communist influence.

Except on a personal basis of friendship in face-to-face discussion, it is probably a waste of time and energy to try to deal persistently with either of these groups of persons. Perhaps the most relevant response to them is in the words of Oliver Cromwell: "My brethren, I beseech

you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken.”

Yet, between these two lines of demarcation lie the vast majority of American Christians, both genuine liberals and authentic conservatives. These are persons who take Communism in dead seriousness and are deeply concerned about how both church and state can deal responsibly with its threat to their survival, as well as how both church and state respectively can take up the positive pursuit of their respective goals: the strengthening of faith and the enlargement of a just and free society. Not only this section, but this whole issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, tries to speak an introductory word to these people, with the hope that they will turn to the more exhaustive sources for detailed information.

Forty Years of Perspective

History can be divided up into whatever periods an author chooses, depending on his “point of view.” Communism, U.S.A., from 1920 to the present is subject to the same option. Primarily because it must be dealt with in manageable chunks, and within brief compass, we will consider the following periods as de-

cisive for an understanding of our subject:

- I. 1919–1929 Confusion and Chaos
- II. 1929–1935 Stalinization to Popular Front
- III. 1935–1939 Years of Respectability
- IV. 1939–1941 Left, Right, Left
- V. 1941–1945 “Our Allies, the Russians”
- VI. 1945–1950 The Cold War
- VII. 1950–1953 Korea, Communism, and McCarthy
- VIII. 1953 to the Present—War, Hot or Cold?

This account must ignore one of the major chapters in the rise and fall of American Communism. That chapter occurred during the late thirties when the American labor movement was fighting for its very life, both against antilabor forces and to keep from being captured by the Communists. In fact, as Roy points out, any American who does not understand the spirit of the thirties cannot hope to understand or cope with Communism as a domestic issue in our nation. Unfortunately, this chapter on the Communists and the labor unions must be totally left out of our concern.

I. 1919–1929 CONFUSION AND CHAOS

During the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, the United States was youthful and vibrant enough to contain a wide variety of movements of social rebellion—both significant and insignificant, serious and weird. Many of them had at least a superficial similarity to some kind of “socialism”—the common ownership of the means of pro-

duction, specifically, and a vague drive toward “social betterment,” in general. Out of this background of social ferment and the “loose community of revolt” made up of a wide variety of “political deviants”—abolitionists, agrarian reformists, utopian colonists, populists, labor unionists, pacifists, socialist sectarians, anarchists, and radicals—

out of this background was formed the Communist Party, U.S.A., in 1919.

Their Motivations

A quasi-religious, humanitarian fervor with little opportunity for outlet in the established churches motivated many of the early disciples of radical change. The famous speech of Eugene Debs to the court on his conviction of violating the Espionage Act epitomizes this spirit: "Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one whit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class I am in it, while there is a criminal element I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison I am not free."

It would be a serious mistake to regard these persons as serious threats to the basic institutions of constitutional government. In the first place, their loyalty was not to a foreign power but to the country of their birth or adoption. In the second place, except for the anarchists and a few radical Marxists who were never a serious political force, they were not interested in violence as a means of bringing about social change—although many of them regarded the strike as quite legitimate, a point of view that has since come to be widely accepted in principle by most responsible conservatives, and denied by every contemporary Communist regime.

During World War I the reaction of the Government and of the populace did not encourage a spirit of moderation among the radicals (if such a contradiction in terms has any

meaning). The suppression of dissent and opposition to the war became a specific policy of the Wilson Administration. Pacifists were jailed, strikers (particularly the militant Industrial Workers of the World) were beaten, tarred and feathered, and in a few instances lynched. In 1918 a twenty-year-old girl was sentenced to fifteen years in prison for distributing leaflets opposing Allied intervention in Russia. German farmers whose war enthusiasm was questioned were horse-whipped in the Midwest. Max Eastman, an editor of *Masses* who was later to become a contributing editor of *The Reader's Digest*, was tried with others under the Espionage Act. And the radical left, by no strange coincidence, grew in numbers and political significance. (Howe and Coser, *The American Communist Party*, pp. 23 ff.)

Beginnings of Coalescence

"Yet nothing that was happening in American domestic life could mean so much as the sudden outbreak, first in February, 1917, and then in October, of the two Russian Revolutions. All the talk, the dreams, the theories—everything that to even the least doubting or least contemplative of socialist minds must sometimes have seemed dim and elusive now took on the force of reality. That a working-class state could be proclaimed in the most backward country of Europe . . . seemed visible triumphant proof that the final victory of socialism was at hand. . . . *This*, they could feel, *this was how it happened; this is how it's done.*" (*Ibid.*, pp. 25 f.)

With very few exceptions the vast majority of American churchmen

supported the war effort, and many believed that making the world safe for democracy was a holy crusade. A Presbyterian pastor in Nashville urged Americans to "keep the flag and the cross together, for they are both working for the same ends" (Ralph Lord Roy, *Communism and the Churches*, p. 12).

Response of the Churches

Meanwhile, word of violent religious persecution under the Bolsheviks in Russia filtered back into the United States. The then Federal Council of Churches (which was under attack from the Right) denounced Communism as teaching hate and class warfare rather than love and brotherhood, and later appealed to the Soviet Government to stop its effort to stamp out religion in favor of atheism.

A few clergymen, not one of whom today occupies an influential position in either the National Council of Churches or the denominations, were either critically hopeful about the new regime in Russia or else openly supportive of it as the bearer of a new day of social justice. One of them wrote that the "radical and bloody reaction" of Bolshevism is not a civilized answer to an unjust society, but added, "Why are we so much more agitated about it than we

were over the bloody regime of generations under Czardom?" (*Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.).

The early years of the Communist Party, U.S.A., were years of erraticism, factional strife, and fanatical flirting with unreality. Communists could not distinguish historical fact from wishful fantasy. They frequently saw in some backwater strike situation the harbinger of a total revolutionary change. "When the New York longshoremen and the Brooklyn trolley-car workers went out on strike in 1920, the Communists bombarded them with leaflets urging the overthrow of the government and the organization of soviets. When local elections were held in New York City, the Communists, fearful of being contaminated by parliamentarianism, urged the workers to boycott the polls." (Howe and Coser, *op. cit.*, p. 31.) And while American Communism pursued its erratic course, expending useless energy on intra-Party fights and politically irrelevant agitations, the churchmen almost without exception stayed out of these fights. Even those who were hopeful about the purification of the Bolshevik regime in Russia (which was having its own internecine warfare) had their eyes turned elsewhere.

II. 1929-1935 STALINIZATION TO POPULAR FRONT

"Until the 'Stalinization' of the Party in the late twenties, when a pall of uniformity was lowered from above, it lurched and stumbled from one factional dispute to another. . . . Ferocious and vituperative as almost

all of them were, they testified to the fact that in its own curious way the early Communist movement retained a measure of internal democracy. . . . Small religious or political sects that suffer from an

awareness of their own impotence will frequently turn their energies upon themselves, lashing deviants with the fury they would like to apply to enemies." This summary by Howe and Coser (*op. cit.*, p. 41) accurately epitomizes the struggles for power and doctrinal purity that characterized the first ten years in the life of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The Party Consolidates . . .

But beginning as early as the Fifth Comintern Congress in 1924 the process of Stalinization began to predominate. The Stalinist leadership had been able to coalesce its forces well and eliminate the effectual influence of all opposition forces. This means that all segments of the Party in all countries had to adopt the view of the Russian leadership. Although process of the elimination of dissidents was not completed until 1929 in the United States, the imposition of "unanimity" from above had begun. In fact, Howe and Coser quote William Z. Foster as saying in 1926, "I am for the Comintern from start to finish . . . and if the Comintern finds itself crisscross with my opinions, there is only one thing to do and that is to change my opinions to fit the policy of the Comintern" (*ibid.*, p. 154). And while the Central Executive Committee of the American Communist Party awaited a decision on which faction should be recognized by Moscow, the *Daily Worker* editorialized: "Within a few days the decision of the Comintern will have settled all controversial questions. All factionalism . . . within the Party must be immediately liquidated." (March 25, 1925, *ibid.*, p. 155.)

And Goes Stalinist

Thus, one major aspect of Stalinism was well on its way to being settled in the CPUSA by the mid-twenties; the total commitment of the Party to Moscow made free discussion of a controversial factional issue impossible not only after it was settled by Moscow, but before. This was "democratic centralism." By 1929 the leadership in America rested firmly in the hands of William Z. Foster and Earl Browder.

"The Opium of the People"

When the American Communists took the trouble to notice the churches and religion during the early years and up until 1935 (which was not frequently) their comments were laced with contempt and ridicule. Openly and avowedly atheistic in its doctrinal origins, Communism had already made famous Marx's assertion that "religion is the opium of the people." The American Party's attitude was summed up by a *Daily Worker* columnist in 1927: The church, he said, is a "gigantic fraud, manned by the greatest collection of specialized hypocrites that ever lied themselves out of working for a living" (Roy, *Communism and the Churches*, p. 29).

The Party's charge against the church was that it was a "puppet" of the capitalist classes, that its clergy were subservient to their capitalist "bosses," and that the church was nothing more than another of the "instruments" by which the rich kept the poor in subservience by promising them "pie in the sky when you die." Even when the church or a church federation took what seemed to be a prolabor position, the Com-

munists accused them of being either naïve (they didn't understand the basic Communist doctrine that the class struggle could be resolved only by conflict, not by mutual accord), or in some kind of sinister alignment with those who, according to the Communists, provided the financial support for the churches.

"Liberal" churchmen like Norman Thomas and Harry Emerson Fosdick were the choice targets of the Communists' most vicious charges. So also were pacifists, even though the party line, until Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, was for "peace." Conservative churchmen fared no better, however. In fact, during the early years of the Party any religious figure of prominence could expect an attack. Even The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, the *Daily Worker* concluded, was made up of people who were "not atheists, but bourgeois; and they give us a pain in the neck" (*ibid.*, p. 45).

From Abuse to Use . . .

In 1931 the Workers' Anti-Religious League was formed with two offices, one in downtown Manhattan and the other in Harlem. Its purposes were "to expose the reactionary role of the churches and such church-related groups as the Y.M.C.A., to spotlight the support given by the churches to American imperialism abroad, and to publicize the alliance of church and state in the repression of Negroes." Immediate plans of the group would "establish antireligious Sunday schools for children, sponsor Sunday-afternoon lectures for adults, supply trained speakers on antireligious topics," . . . and inau-

gurate a massive campaign against 'Bible-teaching' in the public schools." (*Ibid.*, p. 46.)

But with the famous Scottsboro case, the Communists concluded that it was much more to their advantage to try to *use* the churches *than to abuse* them. In 1931 nine Negro boys in Alabama were arrested and charged with the rape of two white girls. The likelihood of a fair trial looked exceedingly slim, and the Communist Party, pushing the NAACP out of the picture of the legal defense of the "Scottsboro Nine," made an international *cause célèbre* out of the case.

Rallies and fund-raising affairs were held in American churches, mostly Negro, and some of these churches opened their pulpits for pleas from the Communist International Labor Defense. Almost overnight the churches, which had been targets of venom and comic opera lampooning, became potential sources of funds for a dramatic "civil rights" issue that would be made to serve the Communist cause.

Wooing the Negroes

For a period of about four years in the early thirties, the Communists made a sustained effort to woo Father Divine and use him. But he proved too "undependable." He was as likely to come to a public rally designed to serve a Communist propaganda purpose and denounce the very thing the Party was currently supporting as he was to lend his support. In fact, except for those occasions when they were able to "use" the Negro churches on a particular civil rights issue, the Communist effort to recruit members from among

the Negro people was abortive when it was not funny. Roy (in *Communism and the Churches*, p. 65) cites some of the reasons for this failure in what looked to many party members as a field ripe for harvest:

"The New Deal had emerged as a champion of the Negroes during the thirties, and the machinery of the Democratic Party in Northern cities was far more effective than that of the Communists, primarily because it could back up its promises with jobs and other benefits. . . . Most Negroes had little in common with aggressive, sometimes frenzied, white comrades, as often as not foreign born, who tended to be either overbearing zealots or solicitous consorts. . . . Communists further tended to alienate the Negro through bitter criticism of middle-class or 'bourgeois' society—the very goal toward which the majority of the Negroes were striving. The Communists had their greatest success among the Negro intelligentsia, but even here they found that these intellectuals were quick to deviate from party policies whenever their strong racial feelings ran counter to Communist dogma. In sum, most Communists were out of place among American Negroes. They were too doctrinaire, too disciplined, too zealous—and too white. Their efforts to achieve 'Communist-Negro unity' were artificial, based on political logic rather than on sociological reality."

To put it another way, the Communist dogma did not permit the testing of theory against facts. The theory was established, and facts had to be fitted into it. If they didn't fit (as they didn't on the "Negro ques-

tion"), so much the worse for the facts.

The Impact of Hitler

Meanwhile, developments in Germany were taking a turn that would prove to be decisive not only for the Communist Party, U.S.A., but for world history. Up until 1935, after Hitler had achieved his first great electoral triumph in 1930 and month after month visited his fury on the political leftists as well as on the Jews, the German Communists continued to direct their main attack against the Social Democrats rather than against the Nazis and their storm troopers. In defiance of historical reality, and under orders from Moscow, the German Communist Party in 1931 even supported the Nazis in their effort to overthrow the Social Democratic government of Prussia, because the "main danger" was seen to be in Social Democracy rather than in Hitler's terror.

In America the Moscow-directed line meant that, as usual, the Communist Party expended almost as much energy in fighting with the Socialists—and even physically breaking up their meetings—as it did in lambasting the "capitalists" and their "stooges," the churches.

But the party line was about to go into an about-face and the CPUSA was to fall dutifully behind it. Moscow began to get the point that Nazism-Fascism was to be taken seriously, not merely as a secondary threat to the "coming revolution" of the workers of the world, but primarily and immediately as a threat to the Soviet Union. The class struggle had to be laid on the shelf for a while for the defense of the mother-

land against the coming war with the Fascists. The Spanish Civil War became a laboratory and testing ground for the new military weapons and tactics of Germany and Russia as well as the battleground of Spanish liberty. Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. And the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935 prepared the way for the shift in the line: "If German fascism attacks the national independence and unity of small independent nations in Europe, a war waged by the national bourgeoisie of

these countries will be a just war in which Proletarians and Communists cannot avoid taking part" (Stalinist Wilhelm Pieck quoted by Howe and Coser, *op. cit.*, p. 322).

In a word, the era of the United Front was about to be born. Internationally and within the United States Communists were to make common cause with anybody—Socialist, Liberal, Capitalist, New Dealer, Christian, Jew, or Atheist—against the new and immediate enemy, War and Fascism.

III. 1935–1939 YEARS OF RESPECTABILITY

After the word went out from Moscow that the Party's new tactic was to be the United Front, virtually every group with any social conscience and a liberal bent was regarded as a potential ally of Communism.

How to Stay "Clean"

In fact, during the late thirties there were only two ways in which one could be relatively "safe" from being used by the Communists as their "friends." One was to become so politically sophisticated and knowledgeable as to deliberately avoid it—and few persons (Reinhold Niebuhr was such a one) were that sophisticated or knowledgeable.

Some young churchmen who were later to become distinguished denominational and ecumenical leaders gladly lent their names to one or more "front" groups meeting for one or another worthy cause. Churchmen were by no means the only ones so "taken in." To the call for the Fifth American Youth Congress (perhaps the most successful of the fronts) in

1939 were appended the names of the most famous political and religious figures of the day: four U.S. Senators, six Congressmen, three cabinet members, and (naturally) Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Representative Walter Judd was among a distinguished list of people who delivered greetings.

The other way to avoid becoming entangled with some front group in the late thirties—and the vast majority of American churchmen were in this category—was to remain totally without social concern and completely uninvolved in any movement of social or political significance.

For the Communist Party had deliberately gone about the process of changing its language, its habits, its style, even the appearance of its members. It set itself the goal of attracting to its "causes" large numbers of people who would never have thought of themselves as Communists or even Communist sympathizers, but who were loosely affiliated in a number of ways with that fra-

ternity of good will on the one hand, and alarm at the successes of European fascism on the other. For example, the Party, which had but a few years ago accused the New Deal of being "social fascism" in disguise, became almost overnight a vigorous supporter of Roosevelt's Administration. It bore no resemblance to the radical sect it had once thought itself to be. It was almost a conservative movement—but its leaders remained disciplined and became flexible.

How to Start a Front

So the fronts multiplied: the American League Against War and Pacifism, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the American Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, petitions of every kind (some of which succeeded in getting the signatures of conservatives like Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, and Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee, according to Roy), the Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, and scores of others. The Spanish Civil War gave the Communists a magnificent series of opportunities to raise funds. A few idealistic youth even volunteered to serve on the Loyalist side against Franco, and gave their lives in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the mistaken notion that Stalinism was superior to Franco.

Howe and Coser cite an interesting bulletin on fund-raising issued by the Communists: "Have a 'guest book' to register names and addresses. This makes a mailing list afterwards. . . . Add refreshments, dancing, mix well and dish out! . . . For beer parties, comrades, remember that pouring in the middle gives

more foam and less liquid." (*Op. cit.*, p. 367.)

The main point to the years of respectability in the late thirties that patriots of today would do well to remember is that anyone with a social conscience—and not a few without one, but with an interest in publicity and social climbing—was exceedingly likely to be "involved" with the Communists during this period. Many of those so involved never even knew the nature of their contamination unless they were called before a Congressional investigating committee or needed security clearance years later. With exceptions that can be counted on the fingers of the hand, no church leader of significance stuck through what happened in late 1939 because up until August 23, 1939, the Communist Party, U.S.A., was committed to the slogan "Unite Against Fascism."

Hitler-Stalin "Friendship"

But on August 24, without taking the trouble to notify the American comrades, Stalin signed a ten-year nonaggression pact with Hitler. The era of respectability and united fronts came to an abrupt halt, much to the (temporary) embarrassment of Earl Browder and the other Party leadership, which had been denouncing all through the summer of 1939 rumors of Russian-German rapprochement as anti-Soviet slanders. In fact, forty-five days before Ribbentrop and Molotov shook hands, Browder said, "There is as much chance of [a Russo-German] agreement as of Earl Browder being elected President of the Chamber of Commerce" (Howe and Coser, *op. cit.*, p. 387).

IV. 1939-1941 LEFT, RIGHT, LEFT

A number of utterly unbelievable flip-flops in the party line, each one dictated by the national interest of the Soviet Union, have repeatedly subjected the American Communist Party to the test of "who is loyal to whom." The Hitler-Stalin pact was the first of a series of supreme tests, and the CPUSA passed it, though not without severe discomfort.

Right . . .

When France and England declared war on Germany following the Nazi invasion of Poland, the party line shifted gradually from "sympathy" for the Polish people to a denunciation of "both sides" as equally guilty, to a denunciation of the Polish Government as semi-Fascist, to a praise for the Russian Army's invasion of Poland from the east to "protect" the Poles from their Fascist oppressors, to an increase of anti-England propaganda coupled with a decrease of anti-German propaganda.

When Russia invaded Finland in the winter of 1939-1940 and signed a nonaggression treaty with Japan early in 1941, the bottom dropped out of the front groups. As the Communists vainly fought to keep them alive—again flying in the face of reality—thousands of decent and respectable Americans saw the truth and saw it clearly. Many of them had fought the Communists within the fronts, had discovered that when they tried to issue a statement that was critical of the Soviet Union the American comrades usually outmaneuvered them, and finally left the

Communists to themselves at the core of the empty shell that had once been a flourishing organization. For example, Mrs. Roosevelt disassociated herself from the American Youth Congress and A. Philip Randolph pulled out of the presidency of the National Negro Congress.

"The Yanks Are Not Coming"

With almost all of Europe at war, and much of it lying in the path of Hitler's blitzkrieg, a rising sentiment in the United States was for intervention on behalf of embattled Britain and France. The Communist line was not only opposed to Roosevelt's lend-lease, military conscription, and fifty destroyers to Britain, it also developed a new set of slogans against the day when the pressures for the United States to get into the war voluntarily might become too great. "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and "Keep America Out of War" were echoed from every propaganda organ. Much was made of the "mangled scraps of flesh" produced by modern war.

And a new front group was organized—the American Peace Mobilization. It sought to capitalize on religious pacifism and upon the understandable desire of American mothers to keep their sons off foreign battlefields. It was got off the ground in Chicago on Labor Day weekend, 1940. But it was never overwhelmingly successful in using churchmen to give it respectability. Out of 5,653 delegates to the Chicago meeting, "only 67 were listed under the 'church'" (Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 153).

Practically any social organization of religious conviction at one time or another becomes fair game for Communist exploitation. During the Hitler-Stalin pact (when "peace" was a primary goal—"peace" meaning noninterference with the imperialistic aims of the Soviet Union), the Party deliberately encouraged and supported strikes in American industry because they interfered with the Allied war effort and cut down on American lend-lease production. Pacifists have been prime targets when the line has been for "peace."

Left . . .

The American Peace Mobilization died before it was one year old. Its newsletter, *Facts for Peace*, came out for both sides in the same issue of June 24, 1941—because two days earlier on June 22 Hitler's armies invaded the Soviet Union, and part of

the newsletter was already in print.

Immediately the party line went through another of its fantastic reversals. The American comrades who two years earlier had been against "war and fascism" and then suddenly against "war," now became ardent interventionists. Overnight England changed from "imperialist" to "democratic," pacifists ceased to be allies of peace and became "appeasers," strikes against capitalistic American industry ceased to be great manifestations of proletarian justice and became saboteurs of the war effort, and so on down the line.

The American Peace Mobilization through a miracle of political transubstantiation became the American Peoples' Mobilization. The organization couldn't be saved because all of its members left except the Communist core, but the initials, A.P.M., were salvaged.

V. 1941–1945 "OUR ALLIES, THE RUSSIANS"

From "The Yanks Are *Not* Coming" the Party's slogan suddenly changed to "The Yanks *Are* Coming." Now that Hitler's Wehrmacht was slashing into the motherland of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and the holy city seemed endangered, the American war effort with its lend-lease and destroyers to Britain was totally inadequate. From the Communists' point of view, as well as from that of others (but for different reasons), what was needed was direct American intervention.

Back to the Right Again

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 ("a day

that shall live in infamy," F.D.R. called it), accomplished what American public opinion would not otherwise have permitted—it got the United States into war with the Axis powers. William Z. Foster called Pearl Harbor "this tremendous event," and almost rejoiced that history for a change supported the party line, which had not changed a bit (he said), but had proved to be accurate a little sooner than the comrades had anticipated (Howe and Coser, *op. cit.*, p. 407).

Almost overnight a strange thing happened. The Communist Party, U.S.A., became one of the most right-wing groups in the country. In labor-

management relations Earl Browder and Sewell Avery, of Montgomery Ward, expressed almost the same sentiments, a paradox roughly equivalent to Lenin and Henry Ford, Sr., appearing together on a panel to discuss economics. The Trotskyites accused Earl Browder of being a strikebreaker (previously one of the dirtiest words in the Marxist vocabulary), and Browder acknowledged this epithet as a compliment. Strikes interfered with war production, hence with the winning of the war, and hence—and more importantly for the Communists—with the saving of the Soviet Union.

The Party also opposed an executive order for fair employment practices—a civil rights measure that would help ensure that firms with defense contracts would hire qualified Negroes on the same basis as whites. The Negro press began to speak of a “Double V” campaign—victory over Hitler and victory over segregation. The Communists called this “disruptive.” Again, anything that diverted the steady flow of all-out war effort became a target of Party attack. Just as pacifism had once been “used” to further the Party’s ends, only to become “appeasement,” now “patriotism” was added to the Party’s arsenal of semantic weapons.

Civil liberties received the same treatment. When the Smith Act was passed in June of 1940 both Communists and liberals criticized it. But when in 1941 the Trotskyites were brought to trial under the Smith Act, the Communists applauded. Freedom of speech and freedom of association were one thing when applied to Communists, quite another when applied to their enemies. In the sweep of his-

tory, virtually no “cause” escaped being “used” by the Party when and if that cause coincided with the tactical situation as viewed from Moscow. When the situation demanded it, the Party was willing to exploit or place on the shelf civil rights, civil liberties, or even the “class struggle” itself. This is why a person’s views or an organization’s position as compared to the Party’s at any given point in recent history is totally useless as a criterion for deciding whether that person or organization is or was a part of the Communist apparatus.

Ultra-Respectability

Communist Party membership in the United States reached an all-time high of 80,000 in 1944 (J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, p. 96), coincident with the military alliance of America, Russia, and the other Allies against Hitler. Communist lawyers and journalists found themselves cheek by jowl with patriots at a wide variety of patriotic functions and affairs. The word “Russian” was scrubbed of its negative connotations and became a synonym for heroism, courage, and sacrifice. New party members who had been either too young or too uninvolved to remember the ridiculous flops and flip-flops of the party line during the late thirties and early forties busied themselves with Russian War Relief, civil defense, refugee committees, war bond campaigns, blood donation drives, and all the local efforts to mobilize a total society necessary to win a total war.

Hardly any American or American churchman was either famous enough or sophisticated enough not

to have participated in one way or another along with Communists in activities or rallies in behalf of national unity and the war effort. This included men like General Eisenhower, Wendell Wilkie, Walter Lippmann, Congressman Rankin, of Mississippi, and Captain Eddie Rick-enbacker, who, after a trip to Russia, expressed his admiration for the "iron discipline" in Russian industry that did away with strikes (Howe and Coser, *op. cit.*, p. 433).

The Uncritical Press

American journalism was equally impressed with the Russian system. *Collier's* declared in 1943 that the Soviet Union was "a modified capitalist setup" moving toward democracy. *Life* in March of 1943 devoted a whole issue to Russia that was on balance extremely favorable, and compared the NKVD to the American FBI. *The Reader's Digest* condensed Ambassador Davies' *Mission to Moscow*, another paean of praise for the Russian way of life. "The blunt truth is that for realistic war-time descriptions of the Russian state one could turn neither to the popular American press nor even to most of the extreme right-wing papers, but to such obscure and harassed weeklies of the anti-Stalinist left as the *New Leader*, the *Socialist Call*, and *Labor Action*" (*ibid.*, p. 432).

Clergy and D.A.R.

Ministers, priests, and rabbis added their own words of praise. And the climax of this period of absurdity (as it must appear in retrospect, however understandable its characteristics were at the time) came at the 1942 congress of the

Daughters of the American Revolution, when a leading "daughter" declared: "Stalin is a university graduate and a man of great studies. He is a man who, when he sees a great mistake, admits it and corrects it. Today in Russia, Communism is practically nonexistent." (*Ibid.*, pp. 433 f.)

And Liberal

But if the conservatives and the reactionaries were deceived about Russian Communism during the war years, it is only fair to say that many liberals were infatuated with it. Some of those whom Dwight Macdonald was later to call "totalitarian liberals" and whom William S. White today calls "the precious irresponsibles" were willing to approve of mass brutalities in Russia which, even on a minuscule scale in the United States, appalled them. Either they were schizophrenic about justice, humanity, and fraternity—the more likely—or else they were really more impressed with the power to "get things done"—the less likely.

In Government

In any case, Communists and their friends found it easy to penetrate Government offices, the arts and letters, the labor movement, the press, practically every aspect of American life. But for the most part they had lost most of their revolutionary fervor and discipline. While stories of the infiltration and influence of Communists in Government policy-making bodies were probably greatly exaggerated, there can be little question but that this infiltration took place. But the point here made is that this

was an accomplishment for which it ill behooved Americans later to seek to lay the blame on any individuals or groups or party. Given the universal adulation of all things Russian during the war years, the naïve assumption that Stalin had become a

democrat, the moral insensibility of most American liberals, and the almost cynical acceptance of Communist support by the extreme right, it took the hard realities of the Cold War to shatter the great deception after the Allied victory.

VI. 1945-1950 THE COLD WAR

"The Communist Party is a highly disciplined tool of the Soviet Union in the United States." If anyone seriously doubts this judgment of J. Edgar Hoover (*Masters of Deceit*, p. 71), and if he is too young to remember how the Party went from right to left and back again according to the fortunes of the Soviet Union against Hitler, he should re-study what happened to Earl Browder, the Secretary of the CPUSA in 1945.

War to Peace to Cold War

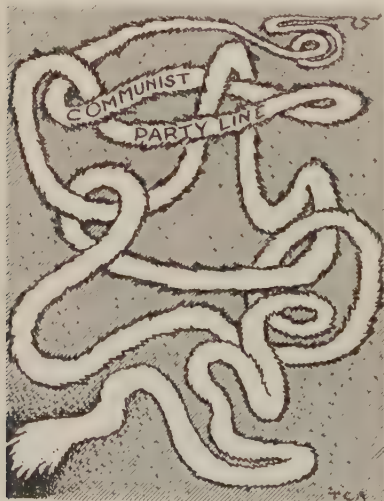
After peace came at the end of World War II, the United States became the great enemy of Russia, not its friend and ally. The Communist

Party in Western and Southeastern Europe came out remarkably strong and as a major political force. What Stalin got of Eastern Europe as the spoils of war he almost got in France, Italy, and Greece by the internal political strength of their Communist Parties.

Browder, who had led the American Party with an iron hand during the years of unity and who had built up the image of America as a great democracy fighting alongside another great democracy (the U.S.S.R.), was sacrificed from Moscow because a major political realignment of power had taken place. In identifying so completely with America, Browder became an enemy of Moscow along with America. He was separated from leadership. If he had been in Russia, he probably would have been separated from this world.

"Peace" in the Cold War

Once again "peace" became the party slogan, because a militarily strong United States was a major obstacle to the imperialist aims of the Soviet Union. The Federal Council of Churches had consistently opposed Universal Military Training, as had most of the major denominations. Now after the war the Communists came out strongly again in



favor of the abolition of UMT. They sought to use the churches' opposition again, because it coincided with their appraisal of the tactical situation. While some pacifists were deceived, by and large churchmen were by now too knowledgeable to be taken in. John Swomley, a pacifist leader in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, warned early in 1948 against the National Council Against Conscription as being for all intents and purposes a Communist front group.

The Stockholm Appeal

But by far the most important Communist "peace" campaign was embodied in the Stockholm Peace Appeal, which became a piece of world-wide Communist propaganda, and claimed 500,000,000 (five hundred million) signatures. It was deceptively simple because it "demanded" the outlawing of atomic weapons and "international control" (inspection was not mentioned), denounced any government that first employed atomic weapons, and avoided the usual anti-American diatribes so characteristic of Communist propaganda.

Although the Stockholm Appeal was endorsed by clergymen both inside and outside the Communist bloc nations (the Communists claimed that over 300 French Roman Catholic clergymen, the Archbishop of Trieste, Lutheran bishops in Latvia, and the chief rabbi of Poland had signed it), the World Council of Churches and the Federal Council of Churches immediately denounced it as propaganda rather than an authentic peace appeal. The National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Synagogue Council of America

also called it a "spurious peace petition" (Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 ff.). This all happened in 1950, before, during, and after the invasion of South Korea by North Korean troops, which permitted the Communists to speak of "liberation" out of one side of their mouths and "peace" out of the other.

These also were the years of the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, Technical Assistance and Point Four, the Berlin Airlift—all of which were vigorously opposed by the Party. They were also the years of the Progressive Party and Henry Wallace's brief flirtation with unreality. Neither a Communist nor a fellow traveler (unlike some of these attracted to his party), Wallace once replied to an inquiry that he was unfamiliar with the Communist approach and could not discuss it intelligently. He was undoubtedly telling the truth, because—again unlike some of those in the Progressive Party—when the Korean War broke out Wallace remarked, "I am on the side of my country and the United Nations."

With the Korean War, the death of the Progressive Party, the infiltration of the Communist Party by FBI agents, and the rise of what later came to be called McCarthyism, another era ended. For one thing, the Party's membership decline, which began in 1944–1945, skidded down a slippery slope. According to J. Edgar Hoover's figures, Communist Party membership over the years went like this:

1922	12,400
1930	7,500
1935	30,000
1940	55,000

1944	30,000
1945	64,600
1950	43,200
1955	22,600

And according to David A. Shannon, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, in *The Decline of American Communism*, the Party requires its members to re-register every year or two, and the drop in re-registrations between 1956 and

1958 was 85 per cent. This would indicate, as other authors have suggested, that the Communist Party, U.S.A., ceased to be a politically significant factor in this country after the Hungarian fiasco—somewhere around 1957–1958. It does not mean, however, that Communism as a world force is any less dangerous, or that Communist espionage and sabotage in this country are less likely.

VII. 1950–1953 KOREA, COMMUNISM, AND McCARTHY

While party members in the United States were feverishly securing signatures for the Stockholm Peace Appeal—and they claimed over two million American signers, most of whom were without doubt ignorant of its intent and innocent of motive—the Korean War was being fought by UN troops against Soviet tanks, planes, and guns, reinforced by Chinese “volunteers.” The decisive defeat that Americans wanted to inflict upon the Communist aggressors in Korea was not to be, and a stalemate in war was a bitter pill for Americans to swallow.

The U.S. Flirts with Neurosis

But there were worse things than stalemates. Communist “successes” were being piled up, one upon the other, and what Denis Brogan called “the illusion of omnipotence” came into play among Americans, who seem to be especially vulnerable to that illusion. This illusion is that the United States’ power in international affairs is decisive, determinative, and if something happens to the detriment of its best interests it can only be because some United States officials were fools, knaves, or traitors.

Thus the reverses and eventual stalemate in Korea, and the Communist successes elsewhere, were successfully linked by many in America exclusively to “betrayals” and not at all to the complex confluence of powerful forces in world affairs, which included forces over which the Communists themselves had no control, but which they understood better than we did. This meant that during the late forties and early fifties (and perhaps to an even greater extent today) a populace frustrated in its inability to fight effectively against the deadly enemy overseas turned its anxieties loose on the “withered and wretched arm” that was the shadow of the Enemy at home.

The Party in Extremis

The American Communist Party spent most of its energy in defending itself against the attacks it was sustaining, legally through prosecutions by the Federal Government under the Smith Act, culturally by the most oppressive climate since the Palmer raids of the early twenties. The era that came to be characterized by the term “McCarthyism” accomplished one good thing, however. It deci-

sively weakened the Communist Party and prepared it for its "virtual demise" from 1956 to 1958.

Liberals need not deny that accomplishment in order to assert with equal force that this era also did permanent damage to our nation's prestige abroad and to its grace and health at home. Congressional investigations and state legislative committee investigations publicly flayed both hard-core Communists and respectable citizens who had the misfortune or naïveté to have been affiliated with the wrong groups years before and had broken with them. Blacklists circulated widely and deprived actors and mass media people of job opportunities, sometimes merely because their names had appeared on the wrong letterhead or the wrong petition. State Department and other Government personnel went through questionnaire after questionnaire, investigation after investigation, and a few—in fact, an infinitesimally small number—were found to be Communists or homosexuals (the terms began to be used almost interchangeably). The "Attorney General's List" came into existence as an "unofficial" check list of subversive agencies. Many teachers lost their jobs—and not a few were reinstated months or years later—because of suspect affiliations or teaching habits. Anyone who used the Fifth Amendment before an investigating committee became known as a "Fifth Amendment Communist." Even the American Civil Liberties Union, frequently praised by presidents and distinguished patriots, got on a few lists. The country paid heavily for its harassment of the Communist Party, in the weakening of

its tradition of civil liberties at home, and its image abroad suffered seriously because of exaggerated appraisals of foreign observers of what was going on. Bertrand Russell in one of his more irresponsible statements called this era a "reign of terror," which it never even approached.

Chaos Within the Party

If suspicion against subversives was rife in the American populace, the climate within the Party was worse. The membership had been infiltrated both by FBI agents and volunteer spies. No Communist could be sure that the man sitting next to him at a group meeting was not an informer. Eight convicted Communist leaders forfeited \$80,000 bail and fled the country, leaving their comrades to foot the bill. When questions were raised as to the wisdom of this move all discussion was suppressed—it was for "the good of the Party," period. Between the criminal prosecutions of the Federal Government and the intramural suspicion and distrust within the Party, between court convictions from without and disciplinary expulsions from within, the Party was reduced in two or three years to a small core of hardened functionaries.

Several years later when Colonel Abel of the Soviet espionage corps was convicted for spying, it was learned that he had worked for eight years without any contact with domestic Party leaders at all. An associate who was sent to the United States to carry on espionage activities, and who defected, stated that he too was instructed to stay away from

the Party because Moscow distrusted the comrades in America and wished to avoid endangering its espionage network by involving it with the undependable Party apparatus. Political activity, a cumbersome but useful operation by a Party subservient to Moscow was one thing, but espionage was too delicate and disciplined an operation to be entrusted to any but the most highly trained operatives under direct orders from headquarters.

During this whole period the most important security activity necessary to the protection of the United States from Communist infiltration, namely, the detection and disruption of Soviet espionage activities, could have been handled by the Federal

Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency without threat to civil liberties or mass public fear and suspicion. But the public climate was against it. And the liberals were not of much help for the most part because they were too ill informed about the realities of Communist discipline and program to do more than react. Some still believed that Alger Hiss was innocent, framed by Whitaker Chambers. When the McCarthy era ended, it was ended primarily by a coalition of conservative forces (and probably by the mass exposure on television of its namesake), but not soon enough to prevent severe damage to the fabric of both conservative and liberal traditions in the United States.

VIII. 1953 TO THE PRESENT—WAR, HOT OR COLD?

The bloody and ruthless suppression of the Hungarian revolution by Soviet tanks, coupled with Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" speech before the Twentieth Communist Congress, split what was left of the Communist Party, U.S.A., into two factions, William Z. Foster's Khrushchevite group and John Gates's "reform" group. A third faction under Eugene Dennis' leadership tried to seize control of the Party but failed.

The Demise of the Party

At the Party's convention in February of 1957, the Gates group won a majority on the National Committee, but members continued to leave the Party by the thousands. Still later in 1957 Gates himself resigned from the Party, and the *Daily Worker*, of which he had been editor, ceased to be published. Howe and Coser esti-

mated that by June, 1957, the Party probably had no more than 6,000 moderately active members, which would not seriously contradict the FBI's estimate of 17,360 six months earlier.

Danger Signals

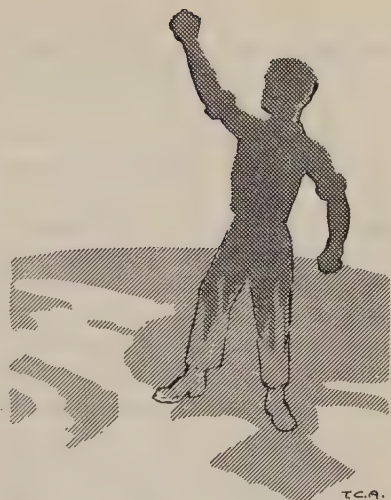
However, Communist strength has no necessary connection with the size of the Party. As J. Edgar Hoover points out in *Masters of Deceit*, "When the Communist Party was at its peak in the United States it was stronger in numbers than the Soviet Party was at the time it seized power in Russia" (p. 5). What is of crucial importance in determining the relative political importance of the Party in any country is not only the Party's size, but also the conditions prevailing at the time. It would seem that conditions in the United States have

never been such as to make an internal Communist coup a real possibility.

The stability of a nation's social, political, economic, and religious institutions are of crucial importance here. So also is the "morale" of its citizenry—are they suspicious and divided among themselves so that it is difficult to mount vigorous foreign and domestic policies with a broad basis of popular support? Or are they united and determined to preserve that which is best in their traditions while adapting their policies to new conditions that are developing with unprecedented rapidity? Are there great gaps between the very rich and the very poor so that mass discontent, if not misery, is a dominant condition? This condition, so prevalent in the so-called underdeveloped nations, makes them ripe for Communist subversion or for armed revolution, with or without Communist help. Walter Lippmann quotes Khrushchev as predicting an overthrow of the Shah's regime in Iran in the near future even though the Party is very weak there. "You will assert," he said, "that the Shah has been overthrown by the Communists, and we shall be very glad to have it thought in the world that all the progressive people in Iran recognize that we are the leaders of the progress of mankind." (*The Coming Tests with Russia*, p. 16.)

"Nevolya"

From 1953 to the present the Cold War has been used as a major instrument of Communist policy. One of its prime goals has been "nevolya" or will-lessening among the people of the Western democracies. This de-



liberate policy of what in Hitler's day was called a war of nerves has been carried out systematically by a bewildering series of threats, promises, and more recently of multimegaton nuclear tests. "War-mongering" and "peace-mongering," the dangling of the olive branch one day and the rattling of rockets the next, the support of guerrilla warfare in Southeast Asia coincident with holding "peace" conferences in the West—all these to a clinical observer bear a sinister similarity to Pavlovian techniques for producing disorganization and disunity in an enemy.

The American and the British people tend to be peculiarly vulnerable to these techniques. Two cases in point are the great wave of hope—"the spirit of Geneva"—that spread after the Cold War was apparently called off at the Geneva summit conference of July, 1955, on the one hand, and the great disillusionment that swept both countries after the "collapse" of the Paris summit meeting in May, 1960.

Henry Kissinger (in *Harper's*

Magazine, December, 1960, p. 62) suggests that the Communists have a tactical advantage over their non-ideological opponents: their belief in the objective reality of dialectical materialism. "Communist leaders insist that in Marxist-Leninist theory they possess a tool enabling them to distinguish appearance from reality. 'True' reality cannot be determined from what statesmen say but rather from the productive processes—the social and economic structure—of their country. . . . Since everything depends on a correct understanding of these 'objective factors,' 'good will' and 'good faith' are meaningless abstractions." Hence words, nuclear tests, threats, promises, every tactic, are related—for the Communist—to the inexorable forces of history.

If all the "externals" of history are really only appearances, then the Communists have no qualms even about "changing" the past. It may be shocking to the lesser Communist functionaries to learn that yesterday Stalin was a hero while today he is a villain, but what really shakes the moral sensibilities of Western men is that tomorrow Stalin ceases to have existed—his body is removed from the tomb, his statues are destroyed, the cities and streets that bore his name get new names, and the history books for school children get rewritten. In frightened people this calculated use of tyranny, of diplomacy, of technology, can produce a state bordering on mass neurosis!

False Alternatives

Eric Sevareid pointed out on July 16, 1961, that all over Britain letters to the editor are asking, "Why die for Berlin?" James Reston (*The*

New York Times, September 23, 1961) quotes an article by a Presbyterian clergyman as saying that the only alternatives are "peace with slavery or total destruction." Sevareid calls the British question "exactly the question that Russia's nerve war is designed to produce," and Reston calls the clergyman's posing of two unendurable alternatives as another version of the same—a serious misstatement of the choices that are open to us. What we face, says Reston, is not a choice between certain destruction or certain Communist expansion, "but between the possibility of destruction if we risk war, and the certainty of Communist expansion if we don't."

The present Administration in Washington has obviously committed itself to the pursuance of a strategy that will risk the possibility of war before yielding to Communist pressures, at least in Berlin. It has made the philosophical choice of the alternative as Reston put it: "the possibility of destruction if we risk war," as over against "the certainty of Communist expansion if we don't." What remains to be decided is the strategic and tactical policies that will further this basic philosophical decision.

The Christians' "Absolute"

The advantage that Kissinger ascribes to Communists because of their belief in the "objective realities" of history is an imaginary advantage if monotheists, and Christians in particular, recall what their own faith asserts even more dramatically and forcefully—the existence of an "Ultimate Reality" that is sovereign over the Communists as well

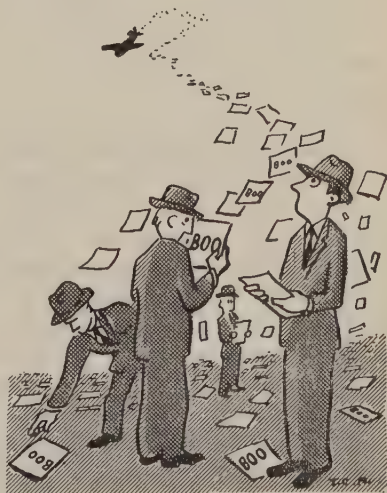
s over Christians. By coincidence, the same issue of *Harper's Magazine* that contains Kissinger's observation also contains Reinhold Niebuhr's statement of this theistic faith:

"If you interpret Christianity just as an ultimate moral idea it becomes irrelevant. But I think, fortunately, Christianity is something more than that. . . . In what sense is this faith relevant to the great dramas of history that deal with the rise and fall of nations and the present situation of a nuclear dilemma and a Cold War under this nuclear dilemma? . . . Ideally, a monotheistic faith claims there's a center of meaning beyond all the systems of value that we can construct, and makes this center of meaning—the righteousness of God, the justice of God, the love of God—a source of criticism not only for the individual life but for the collective life; certainly the great prophets did this. . . . But religious people ought to recognize that there's no guarantee that the pious man, in his own religious experience, will make this divine judgment a source of criticism for himself. . . . There's always the possibility that he will make it a source of security for his values." (*Harper's Magazine*, December, 1960, p. 75.)

The temptation for religious people to use "God" as the guarantor of their own security and their own system of national values is accentuated in a long, protracted era of dire peril. At best, Christians and the people of the Western democracies can expect the Cold War to continue indefinitely, under the dual threats posed

by nuclear weapons and the expansionist drive of the Communist bloc. Against the threat of final earthly destruction the Christian poses his trust in the sovereign God of grace, who rules and overrules the sinful acts of men and nations to the accomplishment of his own purpose. Against the threat of Communist expansion of tyranny, the Christian poses the best policies his intelligence, his sense of realism, and his awareness of the historical significance of power can devise and support.

We turn now from "diagnosis" to "prescription."—*Quotations from The American Communist Party, by Irving Howe and Lewis Coser (The Beacon Press, Inc., 1958); Communism and the Churches, by Ralph Lord Roy (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960); and Harper's Magazine. Used by permission.*



not *How / to Fight Communism*

THE unstated intent of this study so far has been to show that, in Viereck's words, "our more responsible leaders ought to take anti-Communism away from the anti-Communists" (*Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals*, p. 251). Churchmen and others all over the country are presently preoccupied with what is variously called the radical Right, the right-wing extremists, the hard-core Right. Up until recently the dominant group concerned about "the threat from the right" has been the liberal group. This is no longer true.

The Threat to Conservatism

One need not be a disciple of Washington correspondent William S. White to agree with him that the challenge of the "Reactionary Irresponsibles" is *not* to our nation's liberal tradition, but *to its conservative institutions*—to our courts, our schools, our churches, to government itself, in short, to the very structures of twentieth-century conservatism. As White points out (in his "Public and Personal" column of *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1961), the new Right not only deplores softness toward Communism but repudiates the recognition of external Communism as a dire threat. It objects not merely to our nation's association with neu-

tral nations but to our long association with our Allies. It condemns not only our Government's social welfare programs but all programs and planning as such. It is essentially a reaction of anger and hostility against, not races, classes, or religions (and therefore cannot accurately be called a hate movement) but against all the structures of the modern world, and against all efforts to deal with them rationally.

If this is true, then it means that the last people who can deal effectively with the radical Right are those who have themselves never taken Communism seriously, or have inadvertently given that impression. If right-wing anti-Communists are in fact mounting their anti-Communist programs on the basis of a neurotic understanding of history, buttressed by a supply of well-documented facts torn from their historical context, then the only way that responsible leaders in church and society can deal relevantly with the real dangers these people claim to be fighting is in the name of, or at least with the tools of, authentic conservatism.

A Strategy for Leaders

No tactical suggestions can be offered here for the multiplicity of tactical situations. For example, when a church session meets and a resolu-

tion is presented, seconded, and passed that that church disaffiliate from the National Council of Churches (as has happened), the best advance preparation for such an event is common sense, a knowledge of parliamentary procedure, and the knowledge that it *can* happen. But the larger course of wisdom for church leaders is to recognize the extreme likelihood that not only Communism, but also neurotic reactions to it, are both going to be around for quite a long while yet.

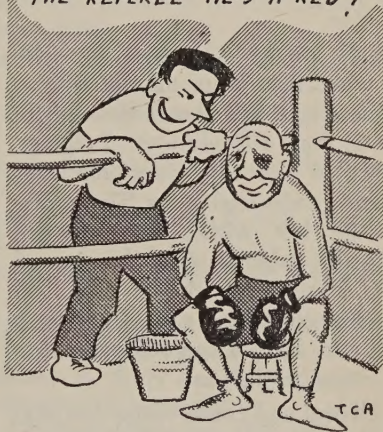
Beyond that, the following suggestions are made as minimum equipment for responsible leaders—conservative, liberal, and those who would reject both labels for themselves:

1. *Know Communism, its dogma, its strategy, its current "line" better than do either the "Precious Irresponsibles" of the far left or the "Reactionary Irresponsibles" of the far right.* When Robert Maynard Hutchins was asked by an irate trustee, "Is it true that you still teach Communism at the University of Chicago?" he replied, "Yes, and we still teach the diagnosis and treatment of cancer at our medical school." This issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* has endeavored to present a condensed picture of facts in historical perspective about the nature of Communism. By itself it is inadequate, and must lead to further study in its bibliography and beyond to be truly effective.

2. *Stimulate support based on solid knowledge of the facts for those policies and programs of our federal, state, and local governments that help create a more free, just, and respon-*

sible society on our own doorstep, in our nation, and abroad. Considerable guidance in this study and action can be gained from the social pronouncements of the major Protestant communions, tempered by Bible study and a daily reading of *The New York Times* or some other responsible newspaper. BUT, rational men and women of good will can and do honestly differ as to *which* policies can best be expected to contribute to-

WE'VE GOT IT MADE - I TOLD
THE REFEREE HE'S A "RED"!



ward positive social goals in our complex world, THEREFORE—

3. *The public and private debate about alternative public policies must be carried on without recrimination or the impugning of the motives of fellow Americans and fellow Christians who differ from us. Regardless of our inner suspicions as to the real intent of antagonists who do not hesitate to use the most venomous language in their charges, Christians are being both Biblical and pragmatic if they leave to God the judg-*

ment of others' *motives* while debating and acting on the merits of the question at issue.

This study has used the words "liberal" and "conservative" repeatedly. They are imprecise words and subject to much misunderstanding. But the delineation between them is an important one, and the mutual participation of both kinds of persons in public policy formation is essential to our survival. Viereck in an essay that appeared in *Commonwealth*, March 4, 1955 ("Politics and Change"), makes a highly useful distinction.

Both liberal and conservative differ materially from the reactionary of the right and the radical of the left in their attitude toward change, which is not only inevitable, but highly accelerated today. The radical of the left wishes revolutionary change outside, and in violation of, any continuity with the past. The reactionary wishes to resist change and, like King Canute and the tide, to return to the past.

Liberal and conservative are alike in their acceptance of the reality of change. They differ in their instinctive and rational response to it. In terms of policies to cope with changed conditions, the liberal puts the burden of proof on those who would defend the old order; the conservative puts the burden of proof on

the innovator. But both are willing to be persuaded, and once the burden of proof is presented and established, they move together in the direction it indicates.

Apart from such an attitude toward the problems of policy thrust upon us by the Cold War and by the complexities of our domestic situation, Christians and Americans are ill equipped to live in the twentieth century. *Responsible leaders in church and society must promote and defend the rational and responsible debate of policy alternatives.*

4. *Within the Christian community leaders must proclaim and sustain a Biblically theological perspective.* American Christians, like the Old Testament people of God, are not tempted by atheism but by idolatry—a constantly shifting loyalty to something other than God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who rules history in judgment and redemption, and brings it ever nearer to the fulfillment of his purpose. Thus, the Christian's final question is not, "How can we win over Communism?" but rather: "What is God doing, using the Communists as his unwilling and unknowing instruments? And what is our response to God in the real world of history, where he has been pleased to put us in this time and place?"

Suggested Reading

- * *Is International Communism Winning?* Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa. July 1961 issue.
- Anticommunism.* Information Packet available. United Presbyterian Office of Information, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.
- The Profile of Communism*, by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. 1961. 117 pp. 95 cents.
- Christianity and Communism Today*, by John C. Bennett. Association Press, 1960. 188 pp. \$3.50.
- Democracy Versus Communism*, by Kenneth Colegrove. D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 2d ed., 1961. 440 pp. with index. \$5.75.
- A Primer on Communism*, by George W. Cronyn, rev. ed. by Howard Oiseth. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1961. 190 pp. with index. \$2.95.
- Communism and Christianity*, by Martin D'Arcy. The Devin-Adair Company, Publishers, 1957. 238 pp. \$4.00.
- Masters of Deceit*, by J. Edgar Hoover. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1958. 352 pp. with index. \$5.00.
- * *The American Communist Party*, by Irving Howe and Lewis Coser. The Beacon Press, Inc., 1958. 593 pp. with index. \$6.75.
- * † *The God That Failed*, by Arthur Koestler and others, ed. by R. H. S. Crossman. Harper & Brothers, 1950. 273 pp. \$3.50.
- The Coming Tests with Russia*, by Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown & Co., 1961. 37 pp. \$2.50.
- Sowing Dissension in the Churches.* The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. 24 pp. Free.
- What We Must Know About Communism*, by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958. 348 pp. with index. \$4.50.
- * † *Apostles of Discord*, by Ralph Lord Roy. The Beacon Press, Inc., 1953. 437 pp. with index. \$3.75.
- * *Communism and the Churches*, by Ralph Lord Roy. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960. 495 pp. with index. \$7.50.
- The Decline of American Communism*, by David A. Shannon. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959. 425 pp. \$7.50.
- * † *Encounter with Revolution*, by M. Richard Shaull. Association Press, 1955. 145 pp. \$2.50.
- * *Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals*, by Peter Viereck. The Beacon Press, Inc., 1953. 320 pp. with index. \$4.00.
- * *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, by Robert Welch. Belmont, Mass., 1959. 180 pp. \$2.00.
- Communism and the Theologians*, by Charles C. West. The Westminster Press, 1958. 399 pp. with index. \$6.00.

* Starred items are basic tools.

† These books are out of print but may be secured from public libraries.



"MAYBE IT'LL GO AWAY IF WE PUT OUT THE LIGHT."